

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

66011

DRAFTED BY S/S-O:DJONES:WLT

APPROVED BY S/S-O:LMACFARLANE

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R 050101Z FEB 76

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USNMR SHAPE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 027892

EXDIS MILITARY ADDRESSEE HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

FOLLOWING REPEAT ATHENS 1082 ACTION SECSTATE ANKARA INFO LONDON
NICOSIA USUN NATO 4 FEB

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ATHENS 1082

EXDIS

DEPT PLEASE PASS USNMR SHAPE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR GR TU CY

SUBJECT: CYPRUS AND THE FUTURE COURSE OF US-TURKISH
RELATIONS

REF: ANKARA 886

1. I HAVE JUST RECEIVED A COPY OF ANKARA'S VERY IMPORTANT
AND THOUGHTFUL MESSAGE (REFTEL AND WISH TO CONTRIBUTE
SOME IMMEDIATE OBSERVATIONS FROM ATHENS FOR WHAT-
EVER VALUE THEY MAY HAVE. I AGREE WITH ALMOST ALL
OF THAT MESSAGE'S OVERALL ANALYSIS AND ASSESSMENT,
AND I SHARE AMBASSADOR MACOMBER'S CONCERN THAT THE
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USG, IN ALL ITS PARTS, MAY SOON HAVE TO FACE AND

DECIDE THE FINAL KEY QUESTION IN HIS TELEGRAM
CONCERNING OUR ALLIANCE RELATIONSHIP WITH TURKEY.

2. IN THAT MESSAGE ANKARA SUGGESTS THAT IT MAY NOW
BE TIME TO CONSIDER OFFERING A FULL-TIME US
INTERMEDIARY TO SHUTTLE AMONG THE THREE
CAPITALS IN ORDER TO HELP BRING ABOUT A CYPRUS
SETTLEMENT. IN WEIGHING THIS POSSIBILITY SEVERAL
CONSIDERATIONS MUST BE BORNE IN MIND. FIRST, ANY
CYPRUS SETTLEMENT THAT CAN BE ACHIEVED WILL BE VERY
UNPOPULAR WITH THE GREEKS. IT WILL ALSO UNDOUBTEDLY
REQUIRE A SIGNIFICANT PULL-BACK FROM THE PRESENT
TURKISH POSITIONS, TERRITORIALY AND POLITICALLY,
ON THE ISLAND ITSELF -- NOT LIKELY TO WIN POPULARITY
POINTS AMONG TURKS EITHER. USING A PROMINENT
AMERICAN INTERMEDIARY TO ACCOMPLISH THIS WILL PUT US
INEVITABLY INTO THE MIDDLE OF THEIR CROSSFIRE,
WITH MANY OF OUR INTERESTS BEING FURTHER INJURED IN
BOTH MAJOR COUNTRIES -- NOT TO MENTION ON CYPRUS ITSELF.

3. THEREFORE, IN MY VIEW, WE SHOULD RESORT TO SUCH
AN INTERMEDIARY ONLY IF (1) ON BALANCE, OUR
OVERALL INTERESTS WOULD SUFFER MORE BY THE ABSENCE OF
A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT THAN BY THE PRESENT UNRESOLVED
SITUATION, OR, (2) THERE WAS NO BETTER WAY TO ASSURE
A SETTLEMENT THAN BY EMPLOYING A US INTERMEDIARY.
ON THE FIRST POINT, MY JUDGEMENT IS THAT OUR
INTERESTS IN GREECE ALONE ARE AND WILL BE -- FOR
AT LEAST A WHILE LONGER -- BETTER SERVED BY DOING
EXACTLY WHAT WE HAVE BEEN DOING TO PRODUCE A CYPRUS
SETTLEMENT, WITHOUT A US INTERMEDIARY TRYING TO TAKE
OVER. OF COURSE, I RECOGNIZE THAT THE OPPOSITE MAY
BE TRUE AS FAR AS TURKEY IS CONCERNED.

4. ON THE SECOND POINT, I BELIEVE THERE MAY YET BE
A BETTER WAY. WHY CAN'T THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT
ACCEPT A SETTLEMENT THAT PROVIDES FOR TWO ZONES ON
THE ISLAND, WITH A TURKISH ZONE OF AT LEAST REPEAT
AT LEAST 25 PERCENT IN THE BEST, NORTHERN PART OF
THE ISLAND, AND WITH VERY LOOSE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
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POWERS? THAT IS WHAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT HAS
ASKED THROUGH A VARIETY OF CHANNELS AND INNUMERABLE
TIMES. IT IS A QUESTION THAT ONLY THE TURKS CAN
ANSWER, BUT THEIR FAILURE TO MOVE TOWARD A SETTLEMENT
ON THESE LINES UNDOUBTEDLY LEADS THE GREEK GOVERNMENT
TO BELIEVE THAT THEY HAVE LARGER AMBITIONS.

5. THUS, I THINK THAT WHAT IS REQUIRED -- AND MUCH

TO BE PREFERRED FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW -- IS FOR
THE TURKS TO ACCEPT AS THE BASIS REPEAT BASIS FOR
A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT WHAT SEEMS TO ME A REASONABLE
OFFER BY THE GREEKS. NEXT WEEK IN WASHINGTON -- IF,
AS I HOPE, CAGLAYANGIL'S VISIT IS MAINTAINED --
SHOULD PROVIDE AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY TO TRY AND
ACCOMPLISH THIS. UNTIL THE TURKS HAVE CONVINCED US
THAT THEY ARE TRULY READY TO SETTLE I THINK IT WOULD
BE A MISTAKE FOR US TO DISPATCH A FULL-TIME US INTERMEDIARY.
AND EVEN SO, I THINK OUR OVERALL INTERESTS WOULD BE
BETTER SERVED IF THE UN SYG OR SOMEONE ELSE COULD
PLAY THAT ROLE WHEN THE TIME COMES. KUBISCH
UNQTE. INGERSOLL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, ALLIANCE, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, PEACE TALKS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 05 FEB 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE027892
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: O:DJONES:WLT
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760043-0766
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760278/aaaacqot.tel
Line Count: 128
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 76 ANKARA 886
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <14 APR 2004 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <15 APR 2004 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CYPRUS AND THE FUTURE COURSE OF US-TURKISH RELATIONS
TAGS: PFOR, GR, TU, CY, US
To: USNMR SHAPE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006